

## The Record Of Inflation

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## U.S. Supreme Court Refuses to Review Sobell's Conviction

By Myra Tanner Weiss

NOV. 13 — The United States Supreme Court yesterday dealt a tragic blow to justice in this country. Once again the highest court of the land refused to consider whether justice was done in the most famous case since Sacco and Vanzetti were legally murdered by the state of Massachusetts three decades ago. Despite world-wide protest that the Rosenberg-Sobell trial was a frame-up; despite the fact that a man and a woman, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were the first alleged peacetime "conspirators" in U.S. history to be executed; despite the fact that Morton Sobell, a talented young scientist, has languished for eight years in prison on a 30-year sentence; despite the fact that unchallenged evidence has been accumulated since the 1951 trial that justice was not done — despite all these compelling reasons for a Supreme Court review of the case, the Justices turned their backs.

### REPUTATION DAMAGED

The recently won reputation of the Supreme Court for "fairness" doesn't look so good when the high court lacks the courage even to put that new evidence of Sobell's innocence to a judicial test.

The Supreme Court doesn't need to give any explanation for

### Rep. Walter Smears Civil Liberties Group

Chairman Francis E. Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee has uncovered a "plot" to destroy his witch-hunting apparatus. The "plot" is the public campaign of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a body devoted exclusively to defense of the Bill of Rights, to end the extra-judicial persecution of Americans by "subversive" hunters like Walter. "Operation Abolition," charged Walter's Committee, has "attained almost country-wide proportions." Harvey O'Connor, ECLC Chairman, pointed out that Walter's attack only emphasizes the need to abolish his witch-hunting group.

### MUST BE FREED

The Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, with offices at 940 Broadway, New York, 10, announced that "new legal motions will be explored." The Committee said it "intends to work with even more intensity and speed, not only because of the urgent need to establish the truth, but because Morton Sobell has suffered enough and must not be permitted to languish in Alcatraz any longer." (See full text of statement by Helen and Rose Sobell on this page.)

## Helen Sobell's Plea for Justice

(The following is the full text of the statement issued by Helen Sobell and Rose Sobell, wife and mother of Morton Sobell. — Ed.)

For more than eight years we have lived from day to day in the hope that the injustice which has destroyed the life of our family would be reviewed by the courts of our country so that an innocent man could be saved from destruction. The horror of knowing that the steadfastness of a father, a son, and a husband, of a man who is a brilliant scientist has been rewarded only by continuing torment is a difficult thing to bear for Morton's mother and for myself. We can never stop our efforts to make known all of the immorality, lying and conniving that went on in this trial. Life has no meaning to us if it must be lived together with such monstrous injustice. We know Morton's goodness, his kindness, his honesty and his innocence of crime. All that has gone before will be but a beginning to the cries which must awaken everyone and show them that Morton must be treated as a human being, not as a pawn in a struggle for power over man's mind.

It is an unworthy thing which our great Supreme Court has done in not even taking this matter in its jurisdiction. What can it fear when all that we seek to establish is the truth itself? We turn now to the most



HELEN SOBELL

# GOP, Democrats Beat Drums For Arms Race, "Sacrifices"

## What the Elections Show

### Economic Fears Reflected in Turn To the Democrats

By C. R. Hubbard

NOV. 13 — The reasons for the Democratic victories in the Nov. 5 election are not hard to discover. The beginning of economic downturn, which has cut average weekly pay and increased layoffs, reduced capital investment and shaken the stock market, has caused deep and widespread concern in the working class over problems of economic security. Shifts in the economy, even slight, are now reflected by even larger shifts in voting.

This does not mean that the workers have strong illusions that the Democrats will solve their economic problems. But without another choice, the record of the Republicans drives the labor vote into the Democratic column.

### A TREND

The vote last week in New York and New Jersey continued the trend of Proxmire's victory in the Wisconsin senatorial race last August. Involved in that campaign was also the issue of the witch hunt, for the vacant seat was the late Senator McCarthy's. However, even then the economic picture was gloomy. Inflation had reached its highest point, cutting deep into living standards that had already fallen for the second quarter of 1957. Proxmire went directly to the factories to appeal for support. He also reaped the harvest of increased dissatisfaction of the long-suffering farmers.

Last week's most significant contest was for the New Jersey governorship. Democrat Robert B. Meyner won by a plurality of 203,613 votes with a total of over a million, the largest vote ever won by a Democrat in that state. The Democrats also captured control of the State Assembly for the first time in 20 years.

Republicans made the N. J. election a test campaign. For Gov. Meyner had won with only a small margin in 1958. Eisenhower swept the state by 750,000 votes in 1956. The chances, therefore, of a Republican victory seemed good. The Republicans moved into the campaign with all their national political weight. Both Eisenhower and Nixon gave strong support to the Republican contender, State Senator Malcolm S. Forbes.

### BIGGER PROMISES

To meet the challenge Meyner engaged in more than usual demagogic in his appeal for labor support. Accompanied by union officials he went into the factories to speak directly to the workers about unemployment and medical compensation, equal job opportunities, etc. He even went so far as to say he would favor "relaxation" of state laws barring unemployment compensation for strikers — "after a reasonable waiting period."

Evidently counting on the Administration's help and the effect of Senate hearings on corruption in the labor movement, Forbes attacked Meyner as a "tool" of the CIO. "The people are tired of watching labor officials of the Congress of Industrial Organizations dominate the State House," said Forbes.

"We don't want to see Walter Reuther run business out of New Jersey as he has in Michigan." Then Forbes promised, "I will never stop my fight to end the domination of our state government by this handful of power-hungry men."

Mayor Wagner of New York also benefited from the workers' economic sensitivity. He polled the largest plurality in city history. History will award a verdict innocent to Morton, but we must seek to establish is the truth itself? We turn now to the most

### Socialist Banner-Bearers



The Socialist Workers candidates in the New York election. Morris Zuckoff (left) ran for Comptroller; Joyce Cowley (seated), for Mayor; Lillian Kiezel and Alvin Berman for President of the City Council and Brooklyn Borough President.

## SWP Municipal Tickets Win Encouraging Votes

The vote registered by the Socialist Workers tickets in New York and San Francisco represents a small but significant gain for the principle of independent working class political action. In New York, Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor, was credited with 13,915 votes in unofficial returns. Morris Zuckoff, candidate for Comptroller, received 14,042 votes and Lillian Kiezel, candidate for President of the City Council, 12,634 votes. None of the write-in votes for Alvin Berman, candidate for Brooklyn Borough President, were reported.

In San Francisco, running for the nine-man Board of Supervisors, SWP nominee Frank Barabaria polled 17,082 votes. His running mate, Joan Jordan, in her first bid for office, received 15,630 votes. Registering 8% of the total vote cast, they placed 12th and 13th in a field of 15. The SWP vote in New York came in an election marked by deep apathy and a correspondingly small turnout at the polls — a factor that always favors the entrenched machine. Also, the entire labor officialdom campaigned for Tammany's candidate, Mayor Wagner, who also had the support of the various social-democratic groupings in the city as well as that of the leaders of the Communist Party.

Yet, with the support extended by the National Guardian and such independent radicals as

## Eisenhower's Speeches Stress War Spending; Less for Working People

By Fred Halstead

The issues of "sputnik" and growing unemployment are being used by the government and corporations to launch a drive to cut the standard of living of American workers. In his "Science and Security" speech, President Eisenhower has proposed "a very considerable" increase in spending for war preparations. At the same time he proposed in his Nov. 13 speech "the cutting out" of "entire categories" of non-military federal expenditures.

The country must prepare itself for a shift to "less butter and more guns," said Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks at a Washington speech Nov. 13. A week previously Eisenhower said that the increased spending for the guided missiles race would be met only if "we set our priorities and stick to them and if each of us is ready to carry his own burden willingly and without complaint."

More on the same theme came from Bernard Baruch, Wall Street financier and "elder statesman" of Washington politics, when he recently urged the intensified arms race and added: "If America ever crashes, it will be in a two-tone convertible... There are worse burdens than taxes... Sputnik represents the test..."

### FAT AND LAZY

Showing that the drive for sacrifice of living standards to war preparations is a bi-partisan policy, former President Truman urged increased armaments in a Nov. 11 speech and said that what's wrong with the U.S. is "that we are fat and lazy and want too many cars and gadgets."

The theme is repeated in the capitalist press. For example, the Nov. 11 New York World-Telegram attributes to the U.S. missile-satellite lag to the fact that after World War II the American people were too interested in the resumption of production of consumer goods and to anxious to turn away from weapons."

As the politicians run interference with their appeals to "sacrifice" and their "guns not butter" statements, the corporations are already taking advantage of increased unemployment to cut wages, increase speed-up, and get rid of "marginal workers." (See story on page three.) They are also preparing to resist attempts by organized workers to hold on to their standard of living in the face of rising prices.

"A top official of a Midwest automotive parts concern, for example," says the Nov. 12 Wall

### Just How Wide Is that Margin?

At a conference of the National Defense Executive Reserve, Nov. 13, Sec. of State Dulles announced that Americans might have to "give up small marginal freedoms" to meet the urgency of the cold war. "The essential thing," said Dulles, "is whether we can retain the great bulk of our freedoms." While Dulles puts a question mark over American liberty — the fruit of decades and centuries of struggle — Sec. of Commerce Weeks forecast the loss of our living standards. Weeks asked for support to a program of "less butter and more guns."

Street Journal, "bristles when he is asked about possible pay demands in the auto industry next spring; he would prefer a stiff management stand — even if it leads to a walkout."

In spite of the inflationary effects of the war budget, the economy continues to dip. An expected "year-end pick up in steel orders" says the Nov. 10 N. Y. Times, failed to materialize. In addition, McGraw-Hill survey of anticipated capital spending in 1958 found that the figure would drop 7% below this year's outlay which would bring it below the 1956 total. This means, according to the Nov. 9 Business Week, that "one of the biggest, costliest cushions beneath the U.S. economy is losing a significant part of its stuffing."

Officials of the Commerce Department last week released the first government estimate of unemployment for next year — "an assumption based on the best guess now available" that it would increase by one million. This is below estimates made by private business.

### TURNABOUT

Prof. Otto Hahn, German Nobel prize winner, who has urged an international gathering of scientists to discuss ways of preventing war, recites the following verse:

To smash the simple atom  
All mankind was intent.  
Now any day  
The atom may  
Return the compliment.

### S.F. Campaigners



Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan ran an effective socialist campaign in the San Francisco election for Board of Supervisors. They found increased interest in their plank for independent labor politics at the union meetings they addressed as well as in organizations of the Negro people.

### In this Issue:

#### Why Zhukov Was Purged

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Joyce Cowley  
Morris Zuckoff  
Lillian Kiezel  
Alvin Berman

# Political Revolution In the Soviet Union

By Harry Ring

In the November issue of Monthly Review, an independent socialist magazine, editors Leo Huberman and Sweeny devote themselves to the problem of the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union. The problem is also discussed in an article by Joseph Clark, former foreign editor of the Daily Worker who recently resigned from the Communist Party.

Writing on the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the MR editors characterize the Khrushchev regime as "self-chosen and self-perpetuating; enjoying the good things of life, it leads an existence quite apart from the masses; it . . . imposes its will through its monopoly of economic and political power. In short, the Soviet Union is a dictatorship, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat . . ." However, they note, "this does not mean the dictatorship of a new class: the Party is a self-renewing group which . . . has none of the essential hereditary characteristic of a class."

Reviewing their previous stand on this problem, Huberman and Sweeny write: "we have always tended to draw the conclusion that when the conditions which produced the dictatorship—economic backwardness and international insecurity—have been overcome, the Soviet regime would, in some unspecified manner democratize itself."

"Our theory is being put to the crucial test of practice," they add, "And so far—let us face it frankly—there is precious little evidence to confirm it."

Probing for new answers to the problem, the MR editors dismiss as barren the contributions of both the Communist Party and the spokesmen for capitalism. "The Trotskyites have come closest to defining the problem correctly," they say. "But their solution (an anti-bureaucratic revolution of the Soviet masses) is part wishful thinking and part sheer revolutionary romanticism. . . the masses are not going to revolt against a system that works as well as the Soviet system no matter how undemocratic the government may be."

## LOOK TO SLOW PROCESS

Outlining in "tentative" form what they see as a possible development, the MR editors say: "Some or all of the competing factions in the leadership might . . . appeal increasingly for the support of public opinion as a means of getting the upper hand over rivals. . . Such a development might be the beginning of a slow but genuine process of democratization."

In his article, Joseph Clark, gives no specific indication as to how he thinks Stalinism will be eliminated, but he takes issue with Leon Trotsky on the problem.

He writes: "If a new exploiting class is in power in Russia, counter-revolution has triumphed. Then the Trotskyist slogan of a workers' revolution . . . would have validity. But it hasn't. Brilliant as was Trotsky's analysis of the rise of the bureaucracy in Russia and his forecast of degeneration in the Soviet state, his slogan of 'workers' revolution' can only imitate the baleful legacy of Stalinism. That slogan can become confused—and has been in actual politics—with George Kennan's old 'containment' policy and the Dulles 'liberation' crusade."

**AN INACCURACY**

Clark's description of Trotsky's views on revolution in the USSR is inaccurate, and it would be helpful for further discussion of how the bureaucratic regime will be eliminated, if the question of revolution were first clearly defined.

The "slogan" advanced by Trotsky was not that of an undefined "workers' revolution," but that of a political revolution.

# The Artist's Prospects

The fate of art in the Soviet Union under Stalin's dictatorship has repelled artists from socialism. Are they correct in their judgment? What should be the attitude of a worker's state toward free expression? Read Trent Hutter's thought-provoking discussion in the fall issue of the International Socialist Review.

Send 35c for a copy

## International Socialist Review

116 University Place

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# Why Zhukov Was Put on Purge List

By George Lavan

In his speech at the 40th anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution, on Nov. 7, Kremlin boss Khrushchev demarcated the political area on which the bureaucracy is attempting to consolidate its rule. The real limit of political concessions to the masses is the 20th Congress, "the most important historic phase . . . in the life of the party and the Soviet people." "Such occurrences as under Stalin's personality cult," Khrushchev promised, "should never be permitted in the future."

He then marked off the forward limit of concessions by declaring Stalin a "dedicated Marxist-Leninist" whom "the party and Soviet people will give his due." He addressed a warning to those attempting to carry de-Stalinization too far, who "call leaders . . . Stalinists, giving it negative meaning. Critics of this kind are either thorough slanderers or people who have descended to the rotten positions of revisionism. . ."

Khrushchev's program has become the official program as a result of his victory, first over Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, who threatened the rear limit, and recently over Zhukov, who threatened the forward limit.

## QUICK DEMOTION

Marshal Zhukov enjoyed his position as the second most powerful figure in the Kremlin bureaucracy for only four months. Why did Khrushchev attempt to solidify his control of the armed forces as against party and guns, but put it on the

threshold of becoming master in its own house?

The simple fact is that the instability of the Soviet bureaucracy and the pressure of the Soviet masses from which this instability flows is so great that further delay threatened to convert Khrushchev's savior of July into his destroyer. That Zhukov had already begun building up his own forces for the ultimate contest explains Khrushchev's urgency in striking while the challenge was potential and not yet actual.

Zhukov's preparations may be divided into three categories: 1) Consolidation of his own base in the bureaucracy—the officers' caste of the armed forces—by dislodging or neutralizing the agencies of other sections of the bureaucracy in the armed forces, primarily those of the Communist Party, and strengthening his grip on the military machine by manning all strategic posts in it with commanders of whose loyalty he was

influence in them and on his bid for mass popularity there is ample documentation.

2) A campaign to capitalize upon his own already great popularity with the masses, as compared to that of other political figures in the USSR, and to extend it by appearing publicly as the champion of further de-Stalinization.

3) Overtures to other sections of the bureaucracy for an alliance against Khrushchev. Such approaches are necessarily secret and must be assumed.

However, on Zhukov's attempt to solidify his control of the armed forces as against party and guns, but put it on the

threshold of becoming master in its own house.

## CP UNITS IN THE WAY

With the secret police extirpated the only extraneous element in the Red Army and Navy was the apparatus of the CP Central Committee. This large and powerful apparatus, consisting of the Political Administration of the Ministry of Defense with built-in agencies staffed by full-time bureaucrats on every echelon from highest down to the regimental level.

Paralleling this on all levels were political units composed of enlisted men and officers who were party members.

Since the death of Stalin there has been a steady struggle by the officers' caste against the power of the party apparatus in the armed forces. Under Zhukov this fight was brought to its greatest success. There can be no question but that he was thereby expressing the interests of the officers' caste as a whole.

Confirmation of this campaign to make the generals masters in their own house comes from the Khrushchev's press campaign against Zhukov and the official statement of the CP Central Committee purging him.

The principal accusation is that Zhukov "tried to diminish the importance of political work in the army and navy" to "suppress criticism," to "distort" his history by belittling "the leading and inspiring role of the Communist Party" in the victories of World War II.

## SOUGHT GREATER POPULARITY

Zhukov's bid to the Soviet masses was not for mere popularity—he already had a great deal of that—but vastly to increase it. His original popularity stemmed from his military victories which shined all the brighter because they were won despite Stalin and because they brought Zhukov's persecution from Stalin. Here is the record.

## EFFECT OF WORLD WAR

For the six-year period 1935 through 1940, the consumers' price index hovered between 98 and 101. From 1940 through 1945, during active U.S. participation in World War II, the index shot up almost 29%.

## WHEN WILL IT END?

When will the inflation end? It could end, according to the workings of the capitalist economy, with a depression, with mass purchasing power so reduced that accumulated unsaleable goods will be thrown on the market for lower prices. But we might experience a contradictory process—slowly growing unemployment and rising prices. That could happen if arms spending were increased and the government debt lifted to still shakier heights.

In any event, as the record shows, it will make little difference which of the two capitalist parties controls the government. The wage-earners are in for it. The Big Business rulers are strictly bi-partisan when it comes to the capitalist alternatives—depression, inflation, war.

## DICTATOR Cancels Venezuela "Elections"

By John Thayer

On Nov. 4 the scheduled elections in Venezuela, one of U.S. imperialism's favorite members of the "free world," were abruptly canceled by the military dictatorship which has ruled there for the past ten years.

It was not that the elections could have turned military dictator Jimenez out of office. In 1952, when elections were last held, four out of every five Venezuelans voted against Jimenez.

As soon as the trend of the vote became apparent in the counting, a blackout on all news going out of the country was imposed, the official count was stopped and completed by the military, who announced that Jiminez had won.

Meanwhile the conservative Catholic politician, whom the regime originally intended to permit to run as the opposition candidate, and his supporters have been thrown into prison where they will meet socialists and trade-unionists who have long been imprisoned and tor-

tured by the brutal dictatorship.

Some of the more august Big Business newspapers in the U.S., such as the N.Y. Times, are clutching their editorial tongues in disapproval of the crude actions of U.S. imperialism's most favored South American country. What they neglect to say is that the Jiminez dictatorship was installed by a coup d'état engineered by the U.S. oil monopolies with the aid of the State Department.

In February 1948 the Democratic Action Party won over 70% of the votes in a free election. Romulo Gallegos, the new president and the congress thereupon imposed a 50% tax on the oil corporations in order to raise the impoverished country's standard of living. By November the oil companies had worked out plans with a group of Venezuelan army of reactionaries, however, are living like Indian maharajahs of old.

Since then Venezuela has been a police state, and its head, Col. Jiminez has been honored by Truman and decorated by Eisenhower. The U.S. oil companies have pumped out of the country billions in profits while the U.S. Steel Corp. and Bethlehem Steel take away tremendous quantities of its rich iron ore. From this the Venezuelan people, forbidden to have real trade unions, get nothing but a raging inflation. The military rulers and a small handful of officers for a coup d'état. When overthrown President Gallegos

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Monday, November 18, 1957

## Aswan Dam Somersault

Nothing more graphically illustrates the defeat of imperialist policy in the Middle East than the recent visit to Cairo of Eugene Black, president of the World Bank. This U.S. imperialist-dominated institution (it is more than symbolic that its president is an American) quickly reneged on its promised loan to Egypt when Secretary of State Dulles announced U.S. cancellation of its commitments to aid Egypt in building the Aswan Dam. This action was intended to punish Egypt for its anti-colonialist, independent foreign policy, and bring it to heel. Instead it precipitated the whole Mideast crisis. In retaliation Egypt struck at the imperialists by nationalizing the Suez Canal, British and French imperialism, using Israel as a stooge, undertook an invasion of Egypt which was so brazen that it threatened to ignite the whole Arab world in anti-imperialist revolts.

To prevent this, U.S. imperialism turned thumbs down on the already begun invasion of Egypt and with the Eisenhower Doctrine set itself up as imperialist overlord of the Mideast. Its attempts to force from Egypt by diplomacy and threats that which the Anglo-French invasion sought — control of the Suez Canal — failed as Cairo stood firm against "internationalization," the "canal users' plan" and an economic squeeze.

Washington's lavish bribery with money and armaments, plus the gunboat diplomacy of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, registered

but one real success in the Mideast — the overthrow of parliamentary government in Jordan and its replacement by the dictatorship of King Hussein. The attempt to repeat this performance in Syria through the agency of Turkey badly boomeranged. The threat to Syria inflamed the whole Arab world. Not only did this save political democracy in Syria, but its backlash may now bring about the downfall of King Hussein the U.S. puppet in Jordan.

Thus the circle is almost completed when World Bank president Black journeys to Cairo, to offer a loan for construction of the Aswan Dam. Of course there are some strings. Black wants a little more payoff for the stockholders of the former Suez Canal Co. At the time of nationalization, Egypt declared they would be compensated at the rate of the previous day's quotations on the Paris Bourse (stock exchange). In the hope of getting a loan for construction of the badly needed Aswan Dam, Egypt has agreed to Black's acting as negotiator with the old stockholders of the canal.

This acceptance as final by imperialism of Egypt's nationalization of the canal is a victory for the Arab revolution. But what adds a delicious bit of irony is Black's "explanation" of why the very same loan that his bank canceled a year and a half ago can be considered today. It is that Egypt now has collateral to secure the loan — an annual profit of \$100 million from canal tolls.

## The Civil Rights Commission

The six members of the Civil Rights Commission, authorized by the watered-down civil rights bill passed by Congress last August, have been named by Eisenhower. Chairman is S. F. Reed, retired Supreme Court Justice. Reed, a Kentuckian and the court's most conservative member, joined in the unanimous decision against school segregation but according to the Nov. 8 N. Y. Times, "It is widely believed in Washington that Justice Reed was the most reluctant of the nine justices."

Of the other members Robert G. Storey, Dean of Southern Methodist Law School, is a Texan. John S. Battle, former Governor of Virginia is an avowed segregationist, presently involved in a court fight against attempted desegregation of a Virginia school.

The Northern members include J. Ernest Wilkins, a Chicagoan who was born in Mississippi. He is the sole Negro member of the commission. At present he is Assistant Secretary of Labor and will continue to hold that post. Dr. John A. Hannah, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense, has long been president of Michigan State College. Rev. T. M. Hesburgh, a Catholic priest, is president of Notre Dame University. Hesburgh is listed as politically unaffiliated; the other two Northerners are Republicans and the remaining three members Democrats.

An editorial in the Nov. 9 N. Y. Times happily notes: "The commission is distinctly 'moderationist' in tone; and

## What Howard Fast Reveals

In this and the previous issue of the Militant we have published excerpts of Howard Fast's article, "The Writer and the Commissar."

We disagree fundamentally with Fast on basic political issues. These include questions such as "peaceful co-existence" where, in our view, Fast's position expresses the politics of Stalinism rather than of revolutionary socialism.

However, we believe the factual material in his article is valuable for those who are seeking Marxist answers to the problem of Stalinism. This material is especially valuable because Fast continues to write as a partisan of the Soviet Union and of socialism. In fact, he indicts the Soviet bureaucrats for their crimes against socialism.

Fast also presents a burning account of the betrayals of revolutionary workers in the American Communist Party. As he puts it, "I am writing about people whom I loved, as well as people whom I despised. I am writing about the bravest men and women I have ever known, as well as about petty bureaucrats, mental and physical cowards, and power-drugged paranoids."

For our part, the story revealed by Fast

even its segregationist member, former Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, is no wild extremist. Neither is its one Negro member, Assistant Secretary of Labor J. Ernest Wilkins." In the dictionary of the Big Business press a pro-integration "extremist" is a person who presses for the actual enforcement of the Supreme Court decision wherever Jim Crow schools exist.

In appointing the commission Eisenhower engaged in a bit of political sharpshooting. He asked liberal Democrat Adlai Stevenson to serve on it. It is well known that wherever the question of Negro rights is brought up Stevenson begins to straddle, becomes somewhat cross-eyed from trying simultaneously to look South and North and at the same time locate the nearest exit, all the while delivering his polished prose like a man with a mouthful of mush.

Stevenson's unhappiness over being put on the spot by the administration's preferred appointment is brought out in a Nov. 8 N. Y. Post article: "A highly placed member of the White House staff approached Adlai E. Stevenson, to ask him if he would serve. Stevenson refused. Today Stevenson snapped a curt 'no comment' when a Post reporter reached him at his Libertyville, Ill., home to ask him about the White House offer. Asked why he had declined, Stevenson replied: 'I didn't say I had declined.'"

One thing, however, is clear — "forthright" Adlai Stevenson was offered the post and didn't take it.

only serves to deepen the close bond of solidarity that we have always felt with the workers in the Communist Party who have fought the witch hunt, suffered persecution for their views and aspired to a socialist future for mankind.

Fast tells of one such Communist, a Detroit auto worker, who had been "persecuted, harried, blacklisted from every factory in the area, because he was known as a left-winger." After the Khrushchev revelations, he said to Fast, "Howard, no matter where I went, no matter what they said to me, no matter how they cursed me out, they always knew I had no price tag on me. They hated me, but because I was part of dignity and honor, they respected me. Now I have no dignity and honor. Where do I go from here?"

For us, this underscores the significance of the present regroupment discussion among American radicals. A free and untrammelled discussion is the necessary means by which thousands of revolutionary workers will find the answer to the question so eloquently posed by the Detroit auto worker. Such a discussion will aid in uniting now-divided revolutionary-minded workers into a single party based on the liberating ideas of Leninism. By the same token, such a development will spell the end of Stalinism.

# Howard Fast on C. P. Leaders

[We publish below, for the information of Militant readers, further excerpts from "The Writer and the Commissar" by Howard Fast, prominent novelist who resigned from the American Communist Party last winter. This article appears in the November issue of the new magazine, Prospects. Other excerpts were published in the Militant last week. — Ed.]

Within the [Communist] Party, and particularly the Daily Worker, the reports of the Twentieth Congress had come as an explosive force of mental liberation. Not because of their content (the "secret" speech was still secret) but because there appeared the first trace of iconoclasm in any party congress in our memory.

It was little, but it was

enough for us on the Worker to seize sledges and begin to break the hateful images with the zest of a drowning man gulping air.

Everyone on the staff joined in, to one extent or another. Myself, I struck out in every direction with a joy I had not known for years.

A whole group of us in the party had been secret believers in psychiatry, but had long been silenced by the terror of expulsion. Now I could defend Freud and the science of the mind.

I was able to lash out at the idiotic Soviet doctrine of "cosmopolitanism" as anti-Semitism; denounce capital punishment as barbarism; to charge that the Jewish people were prisoners within the Soviet Union.

I wrote about my love and

admiration for my own native land, the United States, and comrades of twenty and thirty years in the party came to me with tears in their eyes to thank me. Alan Max, Joseph Clark, Ben Levine, Bob Friedman, and others, reacted in a fashion similar to mine.

Throughout all this, because they had never coped with thought, ideas, change, or the excitement of shattering a worthless and senile idea, the national leaders of the party were silent.

We had the feeling that they had crawled into holes to hide from this tempest that was blowing through the intellectual corridors of the communist world.

We spoke of them with shame and looked upon them with con-

## Smith Act Cases Dropped in Boston

OCT. 9 — A fresh victory for civil liberties was won yesterday with the dismissal of Smith Act indictments against five Massachusetts defendants. Dismissal came after government prosecutors told the court they lacked the evidence to obtain convictions.

The decision was hailed by the five as a major gain for Constitutional rights. Daniel Schirmer called it "a very good thing for American democracy." Mrs. Anne B. Timson said, "The Bill of Rights has been vindicated."

Michael Russo saw it as "a very significant victory for all the American people," while Otis Archer Hood said it is a sign that the U.S. "is turning away from McCarthyism."

Finally, they spoke. Not ideas, not change, but a whining attempt to remove John Gates from the paper and expel him from the party. The staff laughed at them. "If Gates goes, we all go."

So the "leaders" retreated and joined the discussion, mouthing the same things they had mouthed for years in the same numb, senseless, tired language they had used for years.

But their main weapon, the source of all power, had for the moment been blunted—the power to expel from the Communist Party anyone who disagreed with them, who challenged their thinking or their actions.

And by so doing to expel such an "iconoclast" from the friendship of those he had spent his life with, from the society and respect of a whole era of men of good will; to turn an independent into a criminal mind; to do what in Russia was capped with torture and death; to do it short of physical destruction, but leave the human soul seared.

From still another satellite country spoke of the Russian leaders' execution of his comrades:

"We communists taught the world a lesson in how to die with dignity and courage, but when it came our turn to die at the hands of Stalinist murderers, we were denied even the small solace of dignity. They beat and tortured us until we lay at their feet and confessed to the unspeakable crimes they had invented and written down for us to sign."

From a diplomat said to me, fervently: "We will not become a second Hungary. We will live with our pain until in its own good time the Soviet Union will cast out this filth—and then we will cast out our own."

He was referring to the communist leadership, and he was himself a communist. That must be understood.

To speak of these things and condemn socialism is to be short of sight and shorter of understanding.

## CP BOSSES NOT SOCIALISM

The lords of the Communist Party are not socialism; they are not even their own party. They are a product of this party. It is a naivete of the worst kind to believe that these men built socialism in the Soviet Union.

Whoever so believes should read Khrushchev's "secret" speech, then decide whether Stalin and his lickspittle crew that the Nazis were defeated, in spite of them that a new land rose out of the ashes.

## Calendar Of Events

### New York Youth

Fri., Nov. 22, 8 P. M. — A review of John Strachey's "Contemporary Capitalism" by Shane Mage, Alternate National Committee member, American Forum for Socialist Education. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contribution 50c. Auspices: Young Socialist Forum.

### Chicago

Sat., Nov. 23. Thanksgiving Banquet and Dance. Turkey Dinner with all the trimmings. Refreshment Hour, 5:00 P. M. Dinner, 6:30 P. M. Donation \$1.50, includes dinner. Auspices: Militant Readers Club. 777 W. Adams St.

### New York

Sunday, Nov. 24, 8 P. M. — Lynn Marcus will speak on "Automation: Its Political Implications." 116 University Place. Contribution 50c.

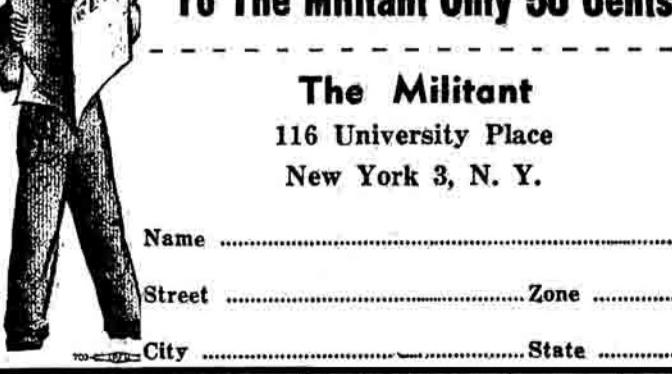
### San Francisco

Sat., Nov. 23, 8 P. M. — Labor Forum presents Murry Weiss, Associate Editor of the Militant, on "Future of American Socialism." 1145 Polk St.

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Life is going to be harder for people who work for wages or salaries during 1958. Bosses across the country are already taking advantage of the "slackening pace of business" to put the screws on workers on the job as well as on those looking for work in an atmosphere of fear of unemployment.

In the largely unorganized white collar field, the effects on wages, job security, working conditions, and everyday human relations are being quickly felt.

The new atmosphere in many of the nation's offices was cheerfully described in the Nov. 8 Wall Street Journal.

"For the first time in several years," said the Journal, "most companies are getting plenty of applicants to fill openings for stenographers, sales clerks, typists and similar jobs."

In some cases, the swelling supply of office help has triggered the trimming of starting salaries. Personnel officers are enjoying the turnaround; some hope to replace marginal workers . . . and a few bosses suggest that the general uneasiness about the nation's economy is having a sobering and beneficial effect on the attitudes of many workers toward their jobs."

**SALARIES GO DOWN**

The roundup report by the Journal attributes the situation to an increase in the labor force plus an increase in the unemployment rate.

A San Francisco shipping concern reported that in the last three months it has changed its starting salary bracket to \$275 — \$300 a month from about \$255 a month.

Speaking of applicants for white collar jobs, the manager of a Los Angeles employment agency said, "their whims are not going to be indulged any longer."

The Journal report continues:

"A San Francisco department store sales girl explains that with jobs hard to get she is watching her P's and Q's. 'I had the flu last week but only stayed home two days because just two weeks ago another girl in this department was fired for taking her time getting to work in the morning.'

A life insurance personnel director told the Journal "we're cracking down a little ourselves; watching attendance more closely

## Two Americas

By Joyce Cowley

[The following is the text of a brief speech given by Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York mayor in the recent elections, on the "Sunday Schedule" program over WNBC-TV, Nov. 3. She spoke under the "Why I Love America" portion of the program.—Ed.]

America is a nation in which the majority of the people have a deep devotion to the ideals of truth, justice and freedom. The overwhelming majority of the people of this country want to live at peace with one another and with the peoples of the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, there are two Americas. There is also the America of the fabulously wealthy financiers and industrialists. They are only a microscopic fraction of the population, but they control the great bulk of the wealth of America and they are the dominant power in all phases of government.

Last week, Fortune magazine reported that 76 Americans possess fortunes that total almost ten billion dollars. This incredible portion of American wealth was piled up at the direct expense of the millions who labor in the oil fields, the factories, the mills.

These 76 men symbolize the ruling capitalist class of America that has made our country feared and hated throughout the world. To protect their far-flung empire of oil and dollars, Truman put us in the Korean war and John Foster Dulles marches the American people from one brink of war to another.

In the interests of these monopolists, American guns and dollars are used to keep the fascist dictator Franco in power in Spain — to restore Nazi bankers and

generals to power in Germany, to prop up dying British and French imperialism.

Here at home, the political spokesmen for these plutocrats permit ugly racism to flourish and permit millions of Americans to work long, hard hours just to keep one step ahead of the landlord, butcher and installment collector.

But I consider the America I speak of first as the real America, the America I love. It is the America of the working people — the industrial workers, the farmers, the professional workers — all those whose brain and brawn took the bountiful resources of our land and built the greatest productive machine the world has yet known.

It is to this America that we of the Socialist Workers Party address ourselves. We say to the working people: You have the power to make our nation into the golden land that we all aspire to — a socialist America of security and abundance for all. An America where everyone will have the opportunity to engage in fruitful, productive labor under conditions befitting the dignity of man. An America where racial and religious bigotry will be unknown. An America that will re-establish itself in the eyes of the world as a leader in the march toward universal freedom and brotherhood.

Our aspirations can and will come true. All that is necessary is that the American working people end the political power of the plutocrats and establish their own government.

When that is done, we will be on the road to a socialist America where a rational and truly democratic economy of production for use will realize the great potential of our country.

VOLUME XXI

## TV, Press Cover Weiss Visit in Minn.

By Winifred Nelson

Minneapolis, Nov. 10 — Speaking at a Socialist Workers Party celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution held here last night, Murry Weiss, associate editor of the *Militant*, declared that the launching of Sputnik I and II demonstrated that mankind will "banish poverty, war, disease and tyranny from the face of the earth." He spoke here as part of a national tour on the topic of "The Future of American Socialism."

"If the human race can create new moons and open the path to the stars," said Weiss, "who can say that it is incapable of regulating its own affairs and organizing a new social structure?"

### LIVELY QUESTION PERIOD

The meeting was attended by many students and persons from other left-wing tendencies who contributed to a lively question and discussion period on the important issues of the day—Sputnik, China, Hungary, the conflicting social systems of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., and socialist regroupment.

Remaining for a social hour after the speech, the audience showed a real interest in continuing the evening's discussion, and purchased literature and subs to the *Militant*.

News media in the Twin Cities carried accounts of Murry Weiss' talk both before and after the meeting. On Friday, WCCO-TV's most popular newscaster, Cedric Adams, gave a spot on his 6:00 P.M. news program to an interview with the SWP spokesman on Eisenhower's speech of the night before. Comrade Weiss declared that Eisenhower had nothing to offer the American people but a war program.

On Thursday, the anniversary



MURRY WEISS, currently on national tour, hailed Sputnik I and II at a Twin Cities celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

### STUDENTS EXPLAIN

Meanwhile, the nine Negro students at Little Rock Central High School are explaining to white children the justice of their equal rights demand, as evidenced by an Oct. 16 NBC broadcast of a panel discussion. The cast consisted of seven students from the school—namely, three Negro students (Minnie Jean Brown, Ernest Green and Melba Patillo) and four white students (Sammy Dean Parker, Kay Bacon, and Robin Woods). Mrs. Ricketts, a correspondent for Norwegian papers, brought them together. Here are excerpts from the broadcast.

**Mrs. Ricketts:** . . . What have you against Negroes in your school, Kay?

**Kay:** I think that they've got schools to go to of their own. That's what most of us have against them.

**Ernest:** . . . Why should my friends get out there and die for a cause called "democracy" when I can't exercise my rights—tell me that.

**Robin:** . . . And when Elizabeth had to walk down in front of the school I was there and I saw that. And may I say, I was very ashamed—I felt like crying—because she was so brave

when she did that. And we just weren't behaving ourselves—just jeering her. I think if we had had any sort of decency, we wouldn't have acted that way . . . How would you like to have to . . . walk down the street with everybody yelling behind you like they yelled behind Elizabeth? . . .

**Minnie Jean:** Hold your hand up. I'm brown, you are white. What's the difference? We are all of the same thoughts . . .

**Kay:** Joe and Robin—do you know anything about me, or is it just that your mother has told you about Negroes? . . .

**Ernest:** Well, getting back to this intermarriage and all that. . . . I'm going there for an education. Really if I'm going there to socialize, I don't need to be going to school. I can stand out on the corner and socialize. . . .

**Kay:** [Sammy and I] We both



THELMA MOTHERSHED, one of the heroic Negro youths who walked through racist mobs for the right to an equal education, with her mother, Mrs. A. L. MOTHERSHED, looks over a picture of Eisenhower shaking hands with Gov. Faubus.

## National Guardian's Post Election View

(The following is the complete text of a "Report to Readers" entitled "The Glass Jaw" in the Nov. 11 National Guardian. We printed a small excerpt last week. — Ed.)

More in sorrow than in anger, we offer for your post-election reading a letter from Sarah Lovell of Detroit, whose independent candidacy for Mayor we endorsed, among the few other independent candidacies we could learn about, in our Oct. 28 issue. She writes:

"Unfortunately, my name was not on the Nov. 5 ballot, and there was no way of registering a progressive vote in the mayoral election here. Under the non-partisan system in effect in Detroit elections, a primary is held in September, eliminating all but the top two candidates for a November run-off.

This insured the election of the conservative Republican candidate, Louis C. Miriani (supported by GM-Ford-Chrysler-Reuther-Hoffa), opposed in the run-off by a conservative Democrat whom even the labor leaders rejected.

pose Miriani in the run-off, thereby greatly enhancing the socialist education of Detroit's voters.

"This wonderful opportunity was muffed—thanks to a mixture of opportunism, timidity, apathy and (if they will permit me the expression) narrow sectarianism by most of Detroit's radical groups.

"I hope that your firm re-statement of the need for independent political action will help radicals and socialists to avoid such mistakes in the future, here and elsewhere."

In New York the Communist Party, in a 3-column last-minute editorial in the Nov. 3 Worker, signed by two of its state leaders, Benjamin J. Davis and George Blake Charney, attacked the mayoralty campaign of the Socialist Workers Party as "disorienting and dangerous" and said that a vote for the SWP candidates "does not advance the cause of socialism."

The editors of the GUARDIAN are chided for urging such a vote as a socialist alternative. Rather, the CP recommended as "sound . . . the position of many that a large vote for the Liberal Party [Mayor Wagner, the Democrat, was its candidate] will exert independent political and vote in the only way that seems, at present, practical to them—that is for the Democrats, particularly for liberal and supposedly pro-labor Democrats.

Confined in the prison of the two-party system by the labor bureaucracy the workers' first move is to unify themselves politically and vote in the only way that seems, at present, practical to them—that is for the Democrats, particularly for liberal and supposedly pro-labor Democrats.

Election of the Democratic-labor coalition's candidates under worsening economic conditions can only put them on the spot as far as the workers' increased demands for remedial action are concerned. The disillusioning experience of the workers with Democratic politicians whom they have themselves put in office will further expose the liberal and pro-labor veneer over the hard capitalist core of these politicians. It was precisely a first dose of the Truman administration that contributed greatly to the Eisenhower sweep in 1952. But in the period that lies ahead the workers will neither fall into political apathy nor vote in considerable numbers for the Republican "alternative."

"I am firmly convinced (and the primary statistics support this view) that a united campaign by the left-wing could have placed an anti-capitalist candidate on the ballot to op-

pose Miriani in the run-off, thereby greatly enhancing the socialist education of Detroit's voters.

"But neither the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the American Socialist group nor any of the other organizations responded to our appeal. Not one of them ran any candidate for any office.

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